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# New Republic

## MR. EISENHOWER

### THE CANDIDATE STATES HIS VIEWS—

An Editorial Analysis

### T.R.B. REPORTS FROM ABILENE

## HOW TO HANDLE CRIPPLING STRIKES

by Richard A. Lester

JUN 19 1952
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### JOHN DEWEY:

A Remembrance by Bruce Bliven
An Evaluation by Malcolm Cowley

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# Letters

### Supreme Court on Steel

● I do not like the decision of the Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the President's seizure of the steel plants. . . . The case involved two major questions, one a matter of substance, and the other a matter of remedy.

In the first place the Court gave us a definition of executive power. Never before had the Court undertaken to give us such a definition, but a definition is needed. However, in my judgment this Court has given us a poor definition. It makes the executive power too narrow, tends to destroy the doctrine of separation of powers, ignores the scheme of checks and balances, and undertakes to turn our government into a parliamentary form of government, with the President not allowed to be a member thereof, but merely an administrator of congressional legislation. Under this definition some of the greatest acts of some of our best Presidents (Jefferson, Lincoln, Jackson, both Roosevelts and Wilson) would be unconstitutional. This is an appalling thing to think about! The executive power should be broader than an administrative power and should include all governmental powers not included in the legislative and judicial powers, but like the legislative power it should be limited by a rule of reasonableness. (Willis on Constitutional Law, pp. 131, 160-1.) In this particular case there was room for debate and difference of opinion over the question of the reasonableness of the President's action, but the Court has excluded this approach.

In the second place, even if the President's action was unreasonable, or even unconstitutional under the Court's definition, an injunction would not lie against the President, as Chief Executive, under a prior well-established rule adhered to by the Supreme Court. (Willis, pp. 151, 160-5.) But in such case the only remedy available, under the doctrine of separation of powers, is the remedy of impeachment. Yet, this Court has apparently ignored all prior decisions and has allowed the ordinary remedy of injunction against the President of the United States.

*Bloomington, Ind.* HUGH EVANDER WILLIS

### 1952 Campaign

● I notice that the May 9, 1952 issue of the *New Republic* refers to Averell Harriman as the "most complete New Dealer" among the Democratic candidates.

His role in foreign affairs is less well known, at least in the United States. An article about Harriman in the *New Yorker* for May 3, 1952, says: "At San Francisco [the United Nations Conference of 1945], he expressed similar strong misgivings about Russia, at an off-the-record press conference, to a dozen eminent journalists who he thought should have his view to complement their own analysis of the international situation." This tends to confirm a rumor which was current in San Francisco at the time of the conference that "someone in government" had called the members of the press in and told them that "we are going to war with Russia sooner later; it's up to you to educate American public opinion to a point where it will support such a war." . . . Harriman may be the "most complete New Dealer"; there is reason to believe that he is also the original and most complete cold warrior.

*San Francisco, Calif.* GEORGE OLSHAUSEN

● . . . The behavior of liberals in pursuing Governor Stevenson in the face of repeated rejection is doubly disgraceful when the man's record is considered. Besides being weak on civil rights, he is also equivocal on tidelands oil, and is opposed to "socialized medicine" (national health insurance), and the Brannan Plan. . . . Kefauver is equally objectionable because of his stand on the crucial issue of civil rights. It is conceivable that the Democratic convention could endorse both Kefauver and civil rights, but how seriously would the Negro voters consider a man who voted to make it more difficult to end Senate filibusters, thereby helping to block all civil-rights legislation. The Negro vote cannot be taken for granted. . . .

If one accepts the premise that civil rights cannot be compromised, and that only a militant Fair Dealer can truly defend the Fair Deal, then the logical choice is W. Averell Harriman. . . .

*Bronx, N. Y.* HAROLD I. LEWACK

### Army Engineers

● Reading the article "Misery on the Missouri" (*NR*, April 28) by Jean Begeman, reminds me of another attempt to harness the mighty Missouri more than 50 years ago. . . . Senator Vest of Missouri was a member of the Senate Committee on Commerce. He conceived the idea of diverting the high water from the upper Missouri into the bad lands; impound that of the Mississippi in reservoirs above Duluth and then perhaps that of the Ohio would not do much damage. A subcommittee was appointed and, in the fall, went up the Mississippi. Frequent stops were made for committee hearings and one of those always called upon was the army officer in charge of that particular reach of the river, who was able to answer all questions as to his part of the river, but not a one of whom would venture an opinion as to what should be done with that part of the river above or below his part. This attitude made Senator Vest furious. More than once he pointed out to such officers that they had been educated at the expense of the government; this committee was investigating at the expense of the government with the responsibility of legislating to cure the trouble and could not get the expert information they needed to do that properly. . . .

Throw out the Army Engineers and let civilian engineers closer to the people and apt to be more responsive to their needs, as against the interests of the power companies, and maybe we will get somewhere.

RT. REV. WALTER MITCHELL
*Rancho Santa Fe, Calif.*

# Bandwagon

### Out Damned Spot

At the same time we must realize that our own national solidarity is weakened by the descendants of Tories and of members of the Hartford convention; by the families that feel ennobled by marriage of daughters into the foreign nobility; by the recipients of foreign decorations; by Rhodes scholars and other Oxford graduates; by Senators with English wives; by ladies foreign governments sent here to work on susceptible statesmen by snobs who crave invitations to foreign embassies; and by a variety of other Benedict Arnolds. — *From an address by Col. Robert R. McCormick in the Washington* Times-Herald.

### Hell on Earth

Hiland G. Batcheller, chairman of Allegheny Ludlum Steel Corporation, Pittsburgh, warned today that continued decay of the moral climate in America will lead to the decline of the country's material property.

. . . "One may not believe that widespread immorality will send a people down the road to hades, but it will certainly send them down the road to poverty." — *From the New York* Times.

### First Things First

During the recent Salt Lake Floods which saw waters roll over more than 2,000 homes in this area, Ivan Meacham, evacuation director for the Red Cross, said that it appeared that the main thing a person wanted to save was the TV set. — *From the* Retailing Daily.

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New Republic

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## WASHINGTON WIRE

ABILENE is still a nice town—the kind you would like to raise children in—and in the memory of Dwight Eisenhower it is still nicer. He left it 40 years ago, in 1911, to enter West Point. He has carried the memory with him around the world. There have been 40 years of public service, largely abroad, and always there has been in the back of his mind this neighborly little town, set on the flat prairie, as representing the verities of America.

It is good for a political correspondent to visit Abilene, for it explains much. General Eisenhower's social ideas may be 40 years out of date, his dream of returning America to the friendly simplicities of Abilene may be hopeless (and under certain circumstances perhaps even tragic) but of its meaning the daily tableaux of the homecoming celebration left no doubt. On that last morning, when only the candidate's own special train was left of the village of Pullman cars that had housed press and dignitaries, the General and "Mamie" finally appeared. He held in his hand a tender little bunch of flowers, the type of bouquet that a sentimental valentine would show a young man holding, and without any embarrassment he took them to his car. They were flowers from his mother's garden. Then for 20 minutes he and Mamie stood on the Pullman steps signing autographs for Abilene children—so fresh at the political work that he gave a full signature, "Dwight D. Eisenhower," while his wife with her bangs cheerfully wrote "Mamie Doud Eisenhower." Another homegrown bouquet was passed up to her, "Gee, there's nothing smells sweeter than a garden rose!" she observed. That's Mamie.

**It was** a tender scene, too, when Ike dedicated the Foundation to his parents' memory. He spoke without a note, and he is a superb extemporaneous speaker in his simple sincerity. His parents' religion was "live and lusty," he said—there was "nothing sad about it." He added: "And they were frugal, possibly of necessity, because I have found out in later years we were very poor—but the glory of America is that we didn't know it then."

**That is his** memory of Abilene. European correspondents were startled by his constant public reference to the Deity. They were told that it was frequent in American politics—look at Truman. But was it sincere; was it in good taste? The question of taste was optional, American colleagues replied; but as to sincerity there seemed litle doubt. Eisenhower and his five brothers were raised on the Bible in a devout Mennonite sect. At the dedication ceremony he recalled that just eight years before, to the day, he had postponed the D-Day landing because of the weather—the most agonizing decision of his life. He pointed out—reverently—that the storm abated just enough to allow a landing but not enough to undeceive the enemy, who were consequently taken by complete surprise. This column does not wish to be irreverent. But the weather in Abilene on homecoming day seemed almost in control of Eisenhower, too. Rain stopped just long enough for the dedication, began again but cleared briefly an hour later for the big parade; poured like water from a faucet thenceforward till nearly 5 p.m. CST when Ike had an appointment from an unsheltered stand in the fair grounds with 10 million radio and television fans, stopped on the dot of five, and then started punctually again as he finished.

The Eisenhower speech was a shock to correspondents. It was devout, platitudinous and dull. It probably lost him a million votes.

Far more revealing was the question-and-answer press conference next day. It occurred in the local movie house,

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with TV cameras winning their battle to be present against the angry protest of reporters. The floor writhed with radio and TV cables, and the murals on the walls were garish fairy-tale landscapes drawn by a house-painter. It was a mad setting. Ike was master of the ordeal every minute. He was natural, sincere, warmhearted. He qualified almost every answer, or spoke in generalities. He could not be pushed beyond the line he set for himself. He has an effective little trick of *non sequitur* in which he begins, "I do not think this," and after developing at length what he does not think, says suddenly and positively as though in a burst of confidence, "But I *do* think this," and comes out with the answer to quite another question. There could be no doubt who won the Eisenhower-reporter duel. He charmed his audience and left it still uncertain. In a very important sense Eisenhower since his return to America has never had a press conference at all. What he has done so far is to appear on television shows where reporters asked questions, as captive performers, without being paid for it.

**Even with this** kind of mechanical protection, however, the Eisenhower replies outline a conservative man. Most revealing was the disclosure that Ike accepted the Republican Congressional Declaration of Policy of February, 1950, written for the mid-term campaign. Ike accepted this, with unspecified reservations, as representing his "political philosophy." Liberal Republicans who are now foremost in supporting Ike against Taft—Lodge, Margaret Chase Smith, Ives and Governor Dewey—either criticized this Declaration or rejected weasel-worded phrases on labor or foreign policy, which Taft, on the contrary, eagerly accepted. Friends who chatted with Ike later got the impression that he had not known that his close supporters found fault with the Declaration; as he explained, it sounded all right to him. The circumstance is significant. Eisenhower is a shrewd man. But he knows little of politics and almost nothing of many modern social and economic issues. He does not know his own political handlers. He is in a terribly exposed position. It is charming to hear him say boldly, "I don't know the answer." But once this present honeymoon period ends, he must know the answers.

Nobody could doubt the well-meaning nature of the candidate's philosophy—a little to the right of Taft here, a little to the left there and always couched in generous, modest, patriotic terms. He is exposed to pressures by vested interests whose slogans of "free enterprise" and "anti-bureaucracy" appeal tremendously to him. Indeed some of this appeared later in informal talks with friends. He spoke approvingly of an effort by self-constituted representatives from 19 states to work out a farm plan. He frankly admitted he did not understand it perfectly, but what delighted him was that each and every one condemned the "Brannan Plan," the epithet-phrase in agriculture which symbolizes for him the hated "centralization."

Was Eisenhower asked by Truman to accept the Democratic Presidential nomination? President Truman has denied it. The categorical assertion was written by Arthur Krock, head of the New York *Times* Washington bureau, and the report led the good, gray paper with three column headlines. The American press has generally taken the position that it would believe Krock any day in preference to Truman. The only difficulty is that Eisenhower tells intimates the story is untrue. His version of the famous Truman interview does credit to both men. Truman began the discussion by saying that there was one subject, politics, he would not raise in order that there should be no constraint between them. At the end of the conference Truman praised Ike's service and observed that he would always have confidence in him. That was all. If the Krock story is right and both men are lying, he has the scoop of the century; if Krock is wrong, as seems likely, then it only shows that the reliable New York *Times* is human after all.

When you take the Army uniform off Gen. Douglas MacArthur his whole personality seems to collapse. But General Eisenhower, on the contrary, seems little changed. He is the same honorable, affable, impressive figure. He introduces his wife as "Mamie," and he and Mamie seem to share a sort of middle-aged exuberance in getting out of the Army at last and in seeing the Kansas landscape around them.

Eisenhower's technical equipment as politician must be described as superb. He was the man picked out of all the Army to run the European command because he was able to get on with everybody. After years of dealing with Monty and other Allied commanders, domestic politics seem like child's play. We watched Ike handle a trainload of delegates, and there was a verve and gusto in his technique that sublimated the ancient business of back-slapping into something higher than art.

Underneath this charm there is steel. This was the man who made the 1944 decision to postpone "D-Day." Reporters watched him at Abilene as the rain threatened to spoil the whole great outdoor TV set-up. Technicians at last said there was still just time to move the whole thing under the grandstand if they worked fast. It was raining hard, but there was light in the West. Everything was at sixes and sevens. Suddenly Ike took command; he spoke crisply. They were going to hold the show outside as planned, he said. Everything fell into order. He walked to the exposed stand. A big market umbrella had been set up for him. "Take that thing away," he said briefly. There was no doubt about it—this was An Order. There was no loss of temper, or even geniality.

**Add to this,** finally, that Ike is one of the best informal extemporaneous speakers living, and then ask whether he can win the nomination by the tactics he is following. It is still an even-money bet whether the Old Guard regulars will prefer to take Ike or commit probable suicide with Taft. ("After all, aren't a lot of Democrats for Ike—doesn't that show he's unsafe?") Actually, Ike strikes us, with his turn-of-the-century Abilene idealism, as just about as conservative as Taft. He is, of course, infinitely wiser on foreign affairs. But his road is spread with pitfalls, carefully baited by designing men with Ike's pet prejudices. They will all tell him, again and again, that he can stretch a point for political advantage. Will he be smiling at the end of the campaign as he is today?

*Abilene, Kans* T.R.B.

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New Republic

# MR. EISENHOWER STATES HIS VIEWS

MR. EISENHOWER has stated his views. They are superficial and inadequate. The best that can be said for them is that they were no sillier than those voiced by another pragmatic man, Franklin Roosevelt, in 1932.

From the ribbons of generalities that Eisenhower has wrapped around his candidacy, one sentence stands out: "If I had to name one issue [in 1952], I would say the issue is peace and security in the world." Even here, Eisenhower fails to establish a solid claim to leadership. His case has been made not by himself but by Paul Hoffman whose argument follows these lines:

> Harriman, Kefauver, Stevenson, Warren and others are all good men; none of them if elected can command a real majority. All will be immobilized as Truman and Acheson have been immobilized in foreign policy, by domestic dissension; the best they can do is to continue to strengthen the free nations. Meanwhile Russia is accumulating atomic bombs, and time is running out. Eisenhower alone will bring to the Presidency the support, the strength and the will to take a bold initiative in seeking a settlement with Russia and China. That is the test in 1952 on which alone he and all candidates must be judged.

That is a valid and major claim to the Presidency to which Eisenhower himself has not so much as hinted. On the contrary many of his concepts undermine this world role. For successful negotiation proceeds from strength, and we are far from possessing strength today. We are falling behind in the military build-up in Korea. We are waging a losing fight in Indo-China. We are failing to meet mounting threats in Asia and the Middle East. We are delivering no more than one-tenth of promised weapons to NATO nations. We are faltering in the creation of a European Army. We are being outproduced in armaments by Soviet Russia. Peace requires a large effort from America and not the smaller effort that Eisenhower holds forth. It demands of us that we raise our government to the performance that peace requires instead of complaining as Eisenhower does of grasping bureaucracy; that we adjust our society to the continuing pressure of a great effort, instead of reciting that excessive taxation is the real threat to freedom.

Instead of dealing with the real threat, Eisenhower at Abilene dealt with four by-products: economic antagonism, inflation, excessive taxation and federal bureaucracy. On each point he fell on both sides of the fence as his advisers attempted to rescue him from his own naïveté.

Eisenhower first deplored the "increasing trend toward unreasonable economic antagonism between economic elements in our country." His prescription was "clear legal processes" (all will agree) "public confidence in the fairness and impartiality of appointed agents" (a sount point) and "an appreciation of good citizenship and responsible concern."

**On this one must state** plainly that Eisenhower doesn't know what he's talking about. He has forgotten the Memorial Day Massacre, the Battle of the Underpass, Bloody Harlan County, and LaFollette Committee reports. He does not know that time lost through strikes for the first three months of 1952 was four million man-hours, compared with 28 million man-hours lost in 1937, and the 116 million man-hours lost in 1946.

The truth is, of course, that industrial tensions vary directly with slum conditions, unemployment and all the general and avoidable evils that leave the individual worker outraged and militant. To preach "good citizenship" to slum dwellers and exploited workers is an abrogation of the responsibilities of national leadership.

Eisenhower's second concern at Abilene was inflation. His prescription was to maintain present spending, to reduce taxation and to balance the federal budget! He blamed inflation on irresponsible federal power. His advisers, knowing that federal controls have kept prices from rising more than three percent since January, 1951, added at once the assertion that "it should be a cardinal point of national policy to use the legal authority and great influence of the government to limit both inflation and deflation." The sum of that is plain double-talk.

Eisenhower's third concern is to reduce taxes "that are only a little below the confiscatory level" and, if long continued, "will destroy free government." His prescription is "the elimination of waste, duplication and extravagance."

Again, it is just not true that taxes in America are "almost confiscatory." Personal incomes after taxes were $222 billion in 1951, as compared to $82 billion in 1929. Per-capita income after taxes was $678 in 1929, and $1,482 in 1951. Corporate profits after all taxes were $8 billion in 1929, and $18 billion in 1951. And business executives as a class are living in unparallelled luxury, charging off yachts, planes and personal needs to corporate expense accounts.

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As to the charge that waste is a major item, 85 percent of federal expenditures is for military purposes and are administered by men who Eisenhower publicly supports. To charge that present taxes will destroy free government is foolish. Free government must and will do what is required for its survival, and it must and will pay for that effort through whatever taxes are necessary.

Eisenhower's fourth concern is "the gradual absorption by the central government of functions that belong to local communities and to individuals." His prescription is "the efficient limitation of governmental functions and the curbing of their spread into new and overlapping fields." Just what is Eisenhower talking about? He concedes that he doesn't know and calls for a re-examination of the last 20 years by an independent authority. He forgets that this very assignment was completed in the Hoover Report. That Report rightly concerned itself not with the curbing of government but with its reorganization to meet the new responsibilities new circumstances have brought about.

**The remainder** of Eisenhower's speech consisted of generalities reminiscent of Coolidge; praise of the 1950 Republican Party statement which liberal Republicans condemned at the time, reference to discrimination and segregation which indicate little awareness of the importance of this burning issue in America but among other peoples; and a complaint about the secrecy of the Yalta Agreement which was a military agreement made while the Japanese had three million soldiers in the field.

These points may be dismissed as details to Walter Lippmann and others who see Eisenhower in the Washingtonian mold. But this is no longer a nation of backwoodsmen, and wisdom is reached in politics by searching debate in which all of the people participate. It is not enough for Eisenhower to call for unity. It is necessary to set forth the terms on which unity *among men of good will* can be found and kept. It is not enough for Eisenhower to place the 1952 campaign above personalities. What will Eisenhower do when his train reaches the border of Indiana and Senator Jenner jumps aboard; when it moves on to Nevada and Senator Malone stands awaiting praise; when it winds its way to Washington where Senator Cain is battling against all that Eisenhower has fought for; when it returns through Wisconsin and Candidate Joseph McCarthy offers his hand? If this is a dilemma, it is a dilemma of Eisenhower's own choice.

Eisenhower was a fresh wind blowing in America's politics because he was forthright. Regrettably he has become trimmer since his return. He has taken a lukewarm attitude toward budget cuts which he fought with passion when he held responsibility in Europe. He has moved so far toward Taft's position that the *Wall Street Journal* is able to announce that there is really no battle between the two men. Eisenhower's supporters justify this by pointing out that he must be elected twice, once by 650 Republican delegates, once by a majority of the voters. If this is a point, it is a poor one. It evades party responsibility and perpetuates the low order of ethics in public life that Eisenhower supposedly is out to cure. We can respect candidates who declare frankly that they want to be President and are willing to compromise their views to win party backing and popular support. But that is not Eisenhower's approach. He comes to the nomination as one moved by a sense of duty, and responding only to a public call. For him, as for Roosevelt in 1940, the nomination should be acceptable only on his terms. For Eisenhower to claim this position and then to trim his views is not a reassuring sight.

Eisenhower is praised by his supporters for taking up a position in dead center. But dead center is a position of neutrality. It may be no position at all. There will always be conflicts in our nation. Democracy is a way of giving expression to these conflicts. If Eisenhower seeks to speak for everyone, he will end by speaking for none.

More important than which party forms the majority in 1952 is whether the rights of the minority will be protected. A prominent leader of Eisenhower's chosen party, Senator McCarthy, is bent on destroying those rights. Eisenhower was asked to take a stand on McCarthyism. Eisenhower answered first that he favored rooting out of government "any kind of Communistic subversive or pinkish influence." (The word "pinkish" was deleted by most newspapers in later reports.) He added that "under competent leadership" this could be done without "besmirching the reputation of any innocent man or condemning by loose association or anything else." The Washington *Post* professed to see in this a ringing denunciation of McCarthyism. To us it sounded more like a dull thud.

**There are six million** independent voters in America, among them the editors of this journal. They are searching for new leadership. But it must be wise and bold, and in keeping with the genius of this nation's tradition and spirit. These independents regard McCarthy and everything he stands for as an urgent threat. There is no middle ground here on which Eisenhower can tread. Like it or not, Mr. Eisenhower is going to have to face the fact that 18 million citizens will vote against the next President. Eisenhower cannot win the independents and liberals *and* hold McCarthy. He must mumble on this issue while proclaiming that this is a time for courage in leadership. Every candidate faces hard choices. Eisenhower must make up his mind.

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# GERMAN HOPES—FRENCH FEARS

EUROPEANS in general and Frenchmen in particular are acutely aware that the signing of the Bonn and European Defense Community treaties opens another critical phase in the Cold War, perhaps the most critical of all. Nor was the closing of East Germany's frontier the only disturbing sign of trouble ahead. There were plain indications of impending changes in the Western world too.

Many Europeans found symbolic significance in General Ridgway's arrival in Paris on the day of the signing of the EDC treaty. The changing of the guard at SHAPE replaced a charming, diplomatic crusader for political principle—and political office—by a tough, taciturn combat veteran whose political orientation seems an Americanized derivation from Clausewitz. And the ceremony in the Salon de L'Horloge of the Quai d'Orsay appeared to be a step in a parallel direction: less toward a brave new world of union in the idealistic hope for peace than toward a new balance of real national power. Moreover, to heighten the value of the coincidence it was on the same day that the belligerent nationalism of neo-Fascism showed its voting strength in Italy.

It was not surprising therefore that Edouard Herriot should have invoked a principle formulated more than 300 years ago by a Founding Father of French national greatness. Cardinal Richelieu wrote in his famous political testament that one must always negotiate, even when there is no chance of success. This principle is now being grasped as the right key to the West's major problems both of short-term political expediency and of long-term military morale.

**The chances** of ratification of the EDC by the French National Assembly are said to be good or bad in almost exact proportion as the period after the signing of the treaty is used by the Western governments, especially the American, for greater or less effort to negotiate with the Russians on the future of Germany. And the chances of making the French people dependably willing to co-operate with the Germans as fellow soldiers in the longer period of the gradual creation of a new balance of national power are said to vary in direct proportion as the future of France is taken fully into account in the negotiations.

Before the ceremony at the Quai d'Orsay, the French thought they had protection. The purpose of the European Army, as conceived by René Pleven, was to provide a means of mobilizing both France and Germany, while at the same time guarding France against a revival of the kind of German neo-Fascist nationalism that is already rising in Italy. On such a basis they had strength to offer, and were able gradually to build popular consent.

**But even Jules Moch** who did as much as any European statesman to develop the Plevan Plan believes that it has become, in the form of the EDC, an instrument of naked power politics; it has, he said, been "sabotaged by the experts" to make it little more than a device by which Germans can be used by NATO and SHAPE, without adequate guarantees. On this plane, the French are brought face to face with their weakness. They know that, as time passes and as the Americans continue to favor the Germans for "expediency," they will be even weaker and the Germans steadily stronger.

The three-power guarantee which accompanied the EDC treaty may satisfy Foreign Minister Schuman and a majority of members of the French Government. It does not satisfy the bulk of French public opinion. For it fails both to cover the major points and to have the binding force of a treaty. Moreover, the recent conduct of the American Congress, suggesting that the "good" Americans cannot control the "bad"—that is, the isolationists, the America-firsters and the pro-Germans—is a warning.

Richelieu's formula expressed the attitude of a majority of the French. Moreover, they are not by any means alone among Europeans in considering the EDC as a basis for future negotiations rather than a binding mutual commitment between West Germany and Western Europe. In London such newspapers as the Daily *Herald*, the Daily *Express*, the *News Chronicle* and the *Times* still suggest negotiations with the Russians. In West Germany, even newspapers licensed by the Western occupying powers take a similar stand.

Of the immediate prospect, if there are no negotiations, the *Times* military expert writes gloomily that:

> . . . some military considerations exist which might decide Russia to take early aggressive action. . . . The immediate future will be a time of danger. . . . The year in which we are living may be the most critical and, if not, then the next year.

An editorial expresses the heart of the dilemma: While the purpose of the EDC is to help defend Western Europe from the Russians, "it is not possible, however naturally the peoples of Europe may desire it, to provide security at the same time by the same machinery against a renewal of the German threat." Yet, it remains true, despite the so-called guarantees in and out of the treaty that, "The Germans know better than anyone that in the long run no restrictions can bind a martial nation which has the power to make its will effective."

**The French** also know pretty well. They, a relatively weak people wanting only to keep what they have, face a strong people wanting more than they have. They cannot face with equanimity as a lesser evil, and nothing more, without effective guarantees, a *renversement des alliances* which gives the Germans not only the right to equality but a chance for mastery.

If America, during World War II, had understood the real nature of the continental European balance of power, the world situation would be different today. They will have a chance of coping effectively with the present dangers, Europeans believe, only if they show real understanding of it now.

*Paris* PERCY WINNER

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# DEWEY IN AN AGE OF UNREASON

**by Malcolm Cowley**

VERMONT YANKEE that he was, John Dewey belonged to the great practical and optimistic or Emersonian tradition in American thought. After William James and Emerson himself he was its most influential representative. Indeed, his influence has been wider than theirs in some respects; if Emerson inspirited a generation of writers at home and abroad, and James founded a school of philosophers, Dewey transformed our theories of education. Children at the local school learn to read by a different method, sit in comfortable chairs not screwed to the floor and follow a different course of study largely because of John Dewey's theories. What he chiefly lacked as compared with his two great predecessors was their innate feeling for language, which is, after all, the medium for philosophers as it is for teachers and poets. Emerson was a poet, perhaps most of all when writing his essays; he had the gift of the intoxicating phrase; while James had the great teacher's passion for making himself absolutely clear. Dewey was almost never poetic and often he was difficult to understand—partly because of his closely reasoned ideas but also, at times, because he was careless in expressing them. Although he regarded thought as an exact instrument, he often used language as a rough tool.

**Like Emerson and James** he made his contribution in many fields: besides education they included psychology, logic, ethics, esthetics, politics and scientific method. His ideas in all fields had the virtues of consistency and continuity over a long period. He began lecturing in 1884; he published his first book, a *Psychology*, in 1886; and he continued working until his last illness. During a public career of 67 years his ideas developed with the times, but they did not fundamentally change. Clarence Ayres, in an article written for the *New Republic*, said that most of the ideas were implicit in Dewey's *Studies in Logical Theory*, published in 1903. As proof Ayres quoted a passage that read in part:

> Thinking is a kind of activity which we perform at specific need, just as at other need we engage in other sorts of activity. . . . The measure of its success, the standard of its validity, is precisely the degree in which thinking actually disposes of the difficulty. . . .

Here was Dewey's instrumentalism; here was his pragmatic test for the validity of ideas; and here was the principle of continuity that he would develop in his later books. Essentially his work in all fields was based on his theory of logic, and essentially he believed that logical thought, though only an instrument, was the best and indispensable instrument of human progress. True and effective thinking would gradually spread, false ideas would be defeated and would vanish, as more and more individuals received a better education.

Dewey's influence was at its height in the 1920s, which regarded themselves as a reasoning, logical and hypercivilized age. The American public shared his faith in progressive education and his methods were spreading through the world. Dewey lectured in China, reorganized the schools of Turkey and inspected the Russian schools.

In spite of the honors he continued to receive, Dewey was not so happy or influential in the age that followed. After 1930 the popular belief in progress by education began to be replaced by a belief in salvation by immediate and drastic action. It was as if people had said, "We have inquired enough and thought enough already. Now we must act on our conclusions, treating them as articles of faith and guides to conduct." The world was entering a new age of faith, or rather of many faiths in violent conflicts that did not end with World War II.

Today the age of faiths has also become an age of leaders and patron saints: for some, St. Thomas Aquinas or St. Thomas Eliot; for others, St. Karl, St. Adolf, St. Charles of Gaul, St. Joseph McCarthy or St. Joseph of the Kremlin; for many peaceful citizens it is the age of St. Turtle, who keeps his neck in and doesn't open his mouth except to eat. It sometimes seems that all the crusading faiths, including Communism and McCarthyism, have joined in a common crusade against experimental thinking. We hear that progressive education must be abandoned for indoctrination in the American (or the Russian) way of life. We are told by George Sokolsky and others that "materialists" in the schools—presumably including Dewey's followers—are unpaid and unwitting agents of the Cominform. We are told from the floor of Congress that experimental artists are corrupting our museums and paving the way for bolshevism. Meanwhile in Russia experimental schools and arts have simply been ordered out of existence.

In this age of unreason the sort of skepticism that was easy and popular in the 1920s becomes an act of courage and a positive virtue. John Dewey's plea for patience and doubt, for continuous inquiry and continuous testing of the results, begins to sound like a voice out of the past. It is, however, a reasonable and practical Yankee voice, and it is needed now more than ever.

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# FAREWELL TO JOHN DEWEY

by Bruce Bliven

He was a great man, but he never seemed to know it; he had the humility that is a part of greatness, and is so often the one thing lacking in those who just miss. He would discuss any subject with anybody, at any length, and never did he pull his rank, as one of the most important philosophers of the day. His feeling was that philosophy is a living thing and anybody alive is entitled to have opinions about it. He would go on for years maintaining a voluminous correspondence with a carpenter in Texas or a grocer in Oregon—or someone in China or Iran or Norway—using up his vitality on what anybody else would have considered a lot of lost causes. Most of these letters he pecked out himself with two fingers on his battered old portable typewriter, interlining to the second and third degree and then, when there was no more room, going on in ink, in his spidery handwriting, up and down the margins.

For many years he wrote regularly for this paper, and I was the editor assigned to prepare his copy for the printer. The younger an editor, the more he edits; I was pretty young in those days, and I often used the axe; yet never did I get any protest except once or twice when I had inadvertently altered his meaning. He wanted to get the ideas out, was aware that his own style was often stiff, and welcomed any changes that made the barrier of language less formidable.

**Much has been written** about his contribution to progressive education, how more than any other man he led small children out of prison into the sunshine, how he tapped the inexhaustible native curiosity of the young, arranging matters so that they could learn, not painfully under a threat, but happily unconscious that they were doing Something Important, just finding out things they wanted to know. Unlike a good many educators I have met who in theory were equally concerned with the same problem, he *liked* children.

I remember once years ago going to call on him and taking with me, knowing they would be welcome, my own five-year-old son and a friend of his of the same age. When the children became restless, the philosopher went and got for them a group of antique Oriental jointed parchment figures—souvenirs of the two years in the Far East from which he had lately returned. The children plumped down on the floor holding these costly, fragile and beautiful objects in their uncertain fingers, and I was on tenterhooks lest damage should be done, and said so.

"Don't worry about it," he said. "Children are more important than breakable objects." And indeed, it was a principle he carried out to the full with his own brood. When his children showed an impulse to climb like kittens on his handsome silk window draperies, he merely made sure that these were securely fastened at the top, and let the youngsters go ahead.

**The only American system** of philosophy worthy of the name is pragmatism, which the Europeans insist is not a philosophy at all, although around the world it seems to be giving the death blow to all older systems. John Dewey was not the father of pragmatism, but his name is indissolubly linked with its development. And how he practised its major concept in his daily life! For 50 years and more he was associated with scores of practical efforts to improve matters in the field of politics and economics; always, his attitude was the pragmatic one: "Let's try it; maybe it will work." Others with half his record of service became tired liberals and mustered themselves out; he went on fighting without even seeming to know that he had been at it a long time, that the day was hot, and that many salients of the battle were going badly against the forces with whom he was allied. He continued to combat the conservative old men (some of them one-third his age) who said that you could not make the world better. He thought you could.

My most vivid memory of him has to do with one of that great series of celebrations of his birthdays as he rounded out each decade of his later life, a thousand people in a vast hotel dining-room, with a long dais full of notables, some of whom had actually read his books and knew what he was all about. It was a pretty sloppy occasion; one speaker after another went painfully far in singing his praises to his face, in the exuberant American way.

At the end of a wearisome emotional evening the guest of honor rose to reply. Those who had expected him to weep, as many man would have done under the circumstances, were mistaken. His eyes were cool and sardonic, between the shaggy white mustache and the heavy mat of unruly white hair. He alluded to what had gone before with only a few dry words. "I don't seem to recognize the description," he said mildly about the orations with which he had just been drenched. And then he proceeded to a calm, thoughtful and stimulating discussion of what was needed for the reform of American politics, and how we should try to bring

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# HOW TO HANDLE CRIPPLING STRIKES

**by Richard A. Lester**

THE PRESENT steel crisis is governed by confusion and perpetuated by political maneuvering. The need for new legislation to meet emergency strike situations is urgent; its nature seems clear. Yet Congress is likely to avoid all action in this election year although Congress alone can supply the statutory provisions necessary to promote voluntary settlements and to discourage Presidential intervention in industrial disputes.

During the 30 years ending with 1923, our Presidents entered personally into 30 different strike situations. Franklin D. Roosevelt took some action in 100 labor disputes during his four terms. Over the past 7 years, President Truman has intervened in more than 30 strike cases. Furthermore, he has three times requested Congress for emergency-disputes legislation—in 1945 for a statute granting authority to establish fact-finding boards with powers of recommendation; in 1946 for legislation providing for seizure, injunction, the drafting of striking workers and government retention of the profits of seized operations; and in 1950 for authority to seize coal mines and determine "just" compensation for the owners and "fair" terms and conditions of employment for the miners. He acted in each case because, in the absence of a genuine substitute for the dispute-settling function of a strike, the pressure on and by the public in emergency situations often exceeds that on the parties, and the executive branch of the government feels impelled to intervene to bring about a solution.

**Despite Presidential requests,** Congress to date has given the President only the restricted, settlement-retarding provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act for dealing with emergency disputes that occur anywhere except on the railroads and the airlines. When experience demonstrated that the Taft-Hartley procedure discouraged settlement and solidified the differences of the parties by a "last offer" vote, Senator Taft in May, 1949, proposed a radical revision to eliminate that ballot and to include board recommendations and seizure. Unfortunately the Act's emergency-dispute provisions remain unaltered, and the US Supreme Court in February, 1951, seems to have ruled in a Wisconsin case that the states are helpless to supplement or supplant that law with respect to strikes by workers in interstate commerce.

Labor disputes now are more likely to create an emergency than was the case 30 years ago when major strikes centered in the railroad-shop crafts, in hard and soft coal and in maritime shipping. That is so not only because labor is better organized today than it was in 1922, but because American industry is more specialized and interdependent and because the international situation, for which our military preparedness and mutual-aid programs are designed, makes it hazardous to our national security to permit extended strikes in important industries.

**The inadequacy** of the national emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act was recognized in the Defense Production Act of 1950, which contains a separate Title V on "The Settlement of Labor Disputes." In the first place, the Taft-Hartley Act is silent on disputes in individual plants or companies, such as the recent Douglas Aircraft and Borg-Warner strikes, because that law applies only to "a threatened or actual strike or lockout affecting an entire industry or a substantial part thereof." Second, the Taft Act's emergency procedure is one-sided and rigid; it encourages employers to postpone bargaining because they are likely to gain thereby, and accentuates discord by firmy deadlocking the parties by a mandatory "last offer" vote.

Unfortunately, the Defense Production Act, after stating it as the intent of Congress "that there be effective procedures for the settlement of labor disputes affecting national defense," contains little in the way of specific machinery for that purpose. Therefore, the Executive Order establishing the disputes-settling functions of the Wage Stabilization Board presumably rests on the rather general language of Title IV of the Act as well as the President's inherent powers.

The lessons of long experience with major disputes can be summed up in this way:

First, the handling of labor disputes is an art. Consequently the executive should not be hamstrung by one set procedure, but should have at hand alternatives and a variety of combinations so that his actions may be adjusted to the peculiarities.

Second, executive flexibility enhances the risks to management and labor if government intervention occurs, and thus directs them away from reliance on the government and toward voluntary settlements. Ad hoc boards have the advantage over a continuing board that they do not establish precedents for themselves and, therefore, create greater uncertainties for the parties in any government action.

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Third, federal use of injunction or seizure should be a measure of last resort, coupled with some penalties on both parties for as long as the injunction, seizure, or both, last. If one side or the other is definitely aided by government injunction or seizure, it is thereby encouraged to hamper collective-bargaining break down and to be uncompromising during the period of government intervention.

**Admittedly it is difficult** to devise sanctions that will be equally severe on both parties in a particular dispute where collective bargaining fails. The Virginia Public Utilities Labor Act, first passed in 1947, provides that, during government seizure and operation, the state takes 15 percent of the net revenues of the business for its services and the terms and conditions of employment for the seized property remain unchanged, so that the workers are denied their demands during the seizure period. The pressure thereby exerted on each party to reach a compromise solution will, of course, depend for the union upon its likelihood of obtaining increases and for the company upon its expected profits and the percentage that labor costs represent of its total costs. An added deterrent to the company consists of any ill effects seizure upon output and industrial relations.

Judged by the above precepts, the seizure bill (S 2999) introduced and amended in hearings by Sen. Wayne Morse is the most satisfactory of those that have recently been before Congress. That bill, however, still appears to have some distinct shortcomings. It does not leave the President sufficient flexibility in terms of alternative procedures. Instead of exerting strong pressure on both parties to make their own settlement, the government would put into effect during seizure the recommendations of a public board. That verges on compulsory arbitration and might be of relative advantage to the union. Furthermore, the amount of company profits that the government would take during seizure is indefinite and open to all sorts of misunderstanding. Penalties on the contrary should be specific and understandable.

Again, as in 1946 and 1947, an act to ban unions from bargaining with more than one employer is being offered as an alternative to adequate emergency-strike legislation. The strategy seems to be to strip the Wage Stabilization Board of disputes-settling functions, while avoiding any new disputes legislation this year in the hope that a rash of strikes and a rash new Congress will result in the enactment of sharp company and geographic limits to collective bargaining similar to the union-Balkanizing amendment that failed to pass the Senate in 1947 by only one vote.

Rigid restriction of bargaining to company or local units will certainly not avoid emergency disputes. Some of the industries with the longest periods of industrial peace have had multiple-employer bargaining. Many strikes in the recent past that threatened to cripple the economy or the defense program have been confined to one locality or a single company. One need only envision the effects of a strike covering US Steel, the Aluminum Company of America, Kennecott Copper, the New York tugboats, one of the interstate pipeline companies, or one of the large aircraft firms. Furthermore, no limits to the unit of actual bargaining can prevent a strike from spreading to other units of the industry.

Industry should join with labor and government to press for the enactment of emergency-disputes legislation that will preserve and foster settlement by collective bargaining. The Taft-Hartley Act is serving as a roadblock to an effective solution and badly needs radical revision, as Senator Taft recognized three years ago. Experience with that Act should have taught the dangers of "happy-thought" legislation in labor relations. Naive and deceptive notions, like the vote on the union shop and on the employer's "last" offer, which experts predicted would have unforeseen and unfortunate results, have embarrassed their sponsors. But not sufficiently it would seem, for Congress will be asked to act on another irresponsible proposal.

**This proposal** would draw an artificial boundary between the different issues in a labor dispute, dividing each dispute in two and confining Wage Stabilization Board action to so-called "economic" issues. The purpose presumably is to weaken labor's drive for the union shop by attempting to isolate that issue along with seniority, grievance procedure, shift schedules and other industrial relations issues. Not only is the proposal one that would create confusion in specific cases, but, by giving labor justified grounds for opposition, it certainly would add to the difficulty of obtaining suitable arrangements for stimulating the settlement of disputes.

In the matter of emergency disputes, our lawmakers should cease tinkering and procrastinating. The appropriate answer to the problem is obvious and urgent. Essentially it is to provide the proper incentives to promote self-settlement through good-faith bargaining in emergency-strike cases. As a last resort, the government should exert substitute economic pressure on both parties where that of a strike is precluded by reason of the vital need for continued operations. Both labor and management have a large stake in the effective operation of collective bargaining. To preserve and improve its functioning neither party should be in a position to anticipate gain from deadlocking negotiations and inviting government intervention.

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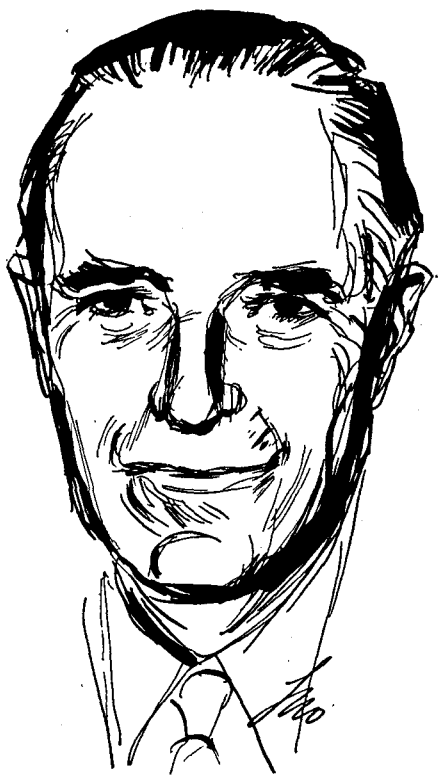
# AVERELL HARRIMAN—THE COLD WARRIOR

**by William V. Shannon**

THE FRIENDS of Averell Harriman warned him at 30 that he was working himself into an early grave. At 60 they continue to assure him that he is working himself to death. Their fears reflect less the state of Harriman's health, than their own inability to keep up with the driving force that inhabits his lean frame.

Harriman is a suspect personality, if only because the very rich man devoting himself to government service is a rare phenomenon in our public life. In Britain, the Conservative Party and the safe constituency have offered a convenient channel into politics for the ambitious banker or manufacturer. In America, we have our aristocrats like the Roosevelts and the Adamses, but they are men richer in tradition than in dollars. The direct election of Senators eliminated those few reformed robber barons who had bought up Senate seats in the same manner as they bought Old Masters and French chateaux. Except for an isolated Mark Hanna or Murray Crane, the business community has not been productive of political leadership.



Averell Harriman

It was inevitable that this should change. The maturing of the economy, the shift in the locus of economic power to Washington, the irretrievable intermingling of public and private concerns have conspired to bring the businessmen directly into political life. Forrestal, Lovett, Harriman, Stettinius, Hoffman and McCloy have played commanding roles in the last decade. It was inevitable perhaps that many of these businessmen should be investment bankers trained to evaluate new ideas. It was perhaps also inevitable that one of these bankers should become a Presidential candidate.

It is in this sense that the Presidential bid of Averell Harriman takes on peculiar interest. Courthouse politicians, middling lawyers, stage-managed generals and even (God save us) engineers in politics we are familiar with, but what of the predilections and the appetite at barbeques, the private conscience and the public handshake of the millionaire banker?

Harriman, as he strives to convey his personality to a nation accustomed to glamorous personalities and self-salesmen, is uncovering his own shy self. He shows a distaste for oratory, a cold presence, a lucid intelligence, a lack of humor, a dominating will. Those closest to him are able to see a figure lacking brilliance, but able to surround himself by brilliant young advisers.

Thirty years ago, Harriman seemed little different from countless other young men who graced Long Island's lanes and paddocks. He was best known on the sporting pages where his feats as a five-goal polo player were discreetly chronicled. Unlike his teammates, however, he was simply directing his feverish concentration to pastimes of momentary interest. And at another level his mind was at work on a different set of experiences some of them unique for an American of his generation. In 1926, he visited Russia, talked with her leaders, gained some lasting impressions, and incidentally disposed of his manganese holdings at a profit. Contemplating the implications of his banking firm's German loans, he fretted about Republican high-tariff and war-debt policies. In 1928 he supported Al Smith for President.

Also in the twenties, he spent many Sunday afternoons at his estate on the Hudson discussing military theories and world affairs with the then commandant of West Point, Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

The depression debacle gave new force to these fragmentary impressions and experiences. He came to Washington frequently in the 1930s, became an intimate of Harry Hopkins and played a minor but useful role on the fringes of the New Deal. Taking over active management of the Union Pacific, he modernized the road and made it pay a profit when most lines were in the red.

In 1941, as Roosevelt's lend-lease envoy to Britain, Harriman moved into another world, of high policy and diplomatic negotiation. For years it seemed the only pictures one saw of Harriman were of him standing at the doorway of a plane, a slightly stooped, smiling figure,

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hand raised in salute or farewell, arriving from or departing for some international conference. He became a remote and somewhat fabulous figure, completing a score of assignments of which any one, as Adlai Stevenson recently remarked, would make a proud obituary for any man.

Far from writing his own obituary, Harriman today is reaching out for the Presidency. As always he is working himself and his aides relentlessly, putting his mind over one hurdle after another like a runner forever in training for some perpetual Olympic. Today he is striving to improve his speaking technique, but he is displeased at references to the "new Harriman." He says straightforwardly, "When I was running a railroad, I ran a railroad; when I was negotiating with Stalin, I negotiated with him; now I am running for President and since candidates have to make speeches, I am learning to make speeches."

Good speeches they are, too, from the liberal viewpoint, despite their faulty delivery. One liberal politician has remarked, "I would rather hear Averell mumble the Fair Deal line than hear the rest of them sing doubletalk." The strange truth is that in terms of policy Harriman is putting on the most thoroughly radical campaign of any major candidate in history.

He favors not only an enforceable federal FEPC and majority cloture but also an end to all forms of segregation and discrimination.

He supports outright repeal of Taft-Hartley, defends unequivocally the President's seizure of the steel mills, and champions federal aid in the fields of health, housing and education.

In taking this position, Harriman is not discharging any obscure guilt about his father's capitalist past as are some befuddled rich men's sons in politics. Harriman was a working capitalist for a long time himself. Unconsciously he has done what any perceptive man seeking the nomination would do: he has gravitated to the source of power which in the Democratic Party is the labor-big-city alliance. This is the stable center of the Roosevelt-Truman revolution, and Harriman is making a confession of revolutionary faith.

**Orthodoxy comes readily** for Harriman because like most converts he has been unwittingly practicing much of the true faith for many years. For example, when he became Secretary of Commerce in 1946, he inherited a stubborn controversy over racial discrimination at the National Airport in Washington which is under the jurisdiction of the Commerce Department. The issue was presented to him. He ordered an end to discrimination immediately.

Harriman came to the defense of Dr. Edward Condon, director of the Bureau of Standards, also a part of Commerce, when Condon was attacked by the House Un-American Activities Committee. He also interested himself quietly in the difficulties of several minor employees involved in departmental loyalty hearings. Referring to the Condon fight, Harriman declared in a speech to the ADA convention last month: "I fought back when the House Un-American Committee attacked an innocent man. And they retreated because they are cowards, and they always retreat when you fight back."

**It is paradoxical** that the greatest political asset of this millionaire businessman, next to New York's 80 delegates, is his wide support among the leadership of organized labor. Several labor leaders have already endorsed him; many such as George Harrison speak highly of him; many others including CIO President Philip Murray and AFL President William Green are known to look benevolently on his candidacy. This labor support may be decisive at the Democratic convention. Representatives of organized labor are members of the delegations from almost every Northern state. More significant, the advice of labor is important in the counsels of many powerful Democratic politicos such as Mayor David Lawrence of Pittsburgh and Gov. Paul Dever of Massachusetts.

His strong backing in labor circles is less paradoxical than it first appears. Harriman worked closely with labor leaders in 1934-35 as the chief executive officer of the NRA. "I learned then," Harriman remarked recently, "that many of the leaders of organized labor have a wider view of the needs of the nation than do many types of businessmen who get over-specialized with the problems of their particular industry." In every government job he has held since his NRA days, he has appointed at least one labor adviser. As roving ambassador for the ECA, he secured the appointment of labor-union officers as chiefs of ECA missions in Norway and Sweden, two countries which have Socialist governments.

One of Harriman's assistants has said: "There are three names that make Averell see red. They are Bob Taft, Joe McCarthy and Joe Stalin." Harriman is campaigning against all three. Quite properly he stresses that domestic and foreign programs are interdependent. He is disturbed by the perilous antics of McCarthy and Taft because of his even greater distrust of the motives and aspirations of Stalin and the world Communist movement. Though by no means a preventive war addict, Harriman does not believe that any durable arrangement is possible with Russia so long as the present regime persists and Communism maintains its revolutionary impetus. Except for ad hoc operating purposes during the war, Harriman was never sanguine

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any suggested opposition to the American Legion, or about the Russians. The late James Forrestal wrote this entry in his diary (April 20, 1945):

I saw Averell Harriman, the American ambassador to Russia, last night.

He stated his strong apprehensions as to the future of our relations with Russia unless our attitude toward them became characterized by much greater firmness. He said that, using the fear of Germany as a stalking horse, they would continue on their program of setting up states around their borders which would follow the same ideology as the Russians. He said the outward thrust of Communism was not dead and that we might well have to face an ideological warfare just as . . . dangerous as Fascism or Nazism.

Harriman knows what the stakes of power are for America and for himself. He says frankly that if America is not vigilant and militarily prepared, this country may some day be sending a delegation to Moscow to ask for terms from the masters of the Kremlin.

For himself, he knows that the Presidency offers the greatest opportunity to affect the outcome of this struggle. The aspirations of Robert Taft, another candidate patrician but backward looking, fills Harriman with righteous horror. But he is ready and eager to take on Eisenhower, a close friend whom he admires but believes would make a botch of the Presidency. A flexible realist, Harriman realizes he has only an outside chance of getting the nomination, but he is willing to strike out boldly for the main chance. He is aware that there are moments in the affairs of men when, in the words of William Ellery Channing, "the highest wisdom is to dare."

# THE LEGION BLACKLIST

**by Phil Kerby**

THE VAST Hollywood film industry, without a semblance of protest, is bending the knee to a new political blacklist received by the heads of all studios from the national headquarters of the American Legion. The list, containing the names of an estimated 200 to 300 picture personalities, purports to reveal their "pro-Communist" associations.

No sooner had the lists reached the inner sanctums of the sprawling movie lots than the studios began a widespread "loyalty" screening process. The studios, which had kept the list top secret for several weeks, issued no statements when the news finally broke recently in the trade paper *Variety*. But it was learned from individual sources that each person named has been requested to submit a written reply to allegations which implicity, if not directly, question their loyalty.

*Variety,* usually well informed on Hollywood news, reported that the list was accompanied by a voluminous file of information on many persons. "The dossiers are remarkable in their detail," the trade paper said. "Those on the Legion list are confronted with obscure incidents and accusations relating to members of their families, or persons of similar names." With the list, the studio executives received a "noncommittal" letter from James F. O'Neil, director of publications for the American Legion. The letter made no demands and suggested no course of action, according to Y. Frank Freeman, vice-president and chief of operations at Paramount Pictures.

No demands were necessary. It was obvious from the action now being taken that an agreement on the new "loyalty" investigation had been reached at a conference April 1 in Washington between representatives of the film industry and the Legion. The meeting was arranged by Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, after the Legion magazine had published a series of articles accusing the studios of continuing to employ Communists or suspected Communists. The magazine, much to the consternation of industry leaders, advocated the picketing of all films in which suspected persons were involved.

The latest "loyalty" check is a move by the studios to go the limit in winning the confidence of the American Legion in an effort to stop the sporadic Legion picketing of motion pictures in various parts of the country. It is equally obvious from a statement made a few weeks ago by Mr. Johnston that responsible film-industry leaders do not consider Communism a present threat in Hollywood. But they are afraid, mortally so, of the harm that can come to the industry by the manipulation of the fear of Communism.

In February, a report by the House Un-American Activities Committee charged that Hollywood had failed to take "positive and determined" steps to eliminate Communists. Johnston then replied:

> The report says that efforts were made by the Communists to influence the content of motion pictures, but nowhere in the report is there a shred of evidence that the Communists ever succeeded in influencing the content of a single motion picture made by any of our members. . . . As there is no un-Americanism in our pictures, the Committee should do the fair . . . thing and stop this accusation.

Even though there is "no un-Americanism in our pictures," Johnston represents an industry that is almost pathologically eager to appease its critics. Boxoffice-

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minded film executives throw up their hands in horror at any other strong group that sets itself up as the arbiter of the "Americanism" and the "loyalty" of the creative personnel of motion pictures. Long ago these executives dismissed, apparently, any vagrant notion that they have a duty to defend a potent medium of communication from any kind of arbitrary control.

The Legion list is principally comprised of creative personnel—producers, writers, directors and actors—according to information filtering from the studios. The names are a closely guarded secret, although it is believed that most of them are taken from *Red Channels,* and the records of the House Un-American Activities Committee and California's counterpart. Both the Legion and film executives are aware of the legal action that might follow disclosure of charges that could not be substantiated. And persons named, fearful of the damaging publicity, are not identifying themselves.

The Legion has actively picketed *Red Channel* names on the marquee of theatres in Washington, D. C., Baltimore, St. Louis, Buffalo and Syracuse. Legion picketers protested José Ferrer's appearance in *Anything Can Happen* on the grounds of "questioned loyalty." In Washington and St. Louis, Legionnaires marched around the movie houses showing *Death of a Salesman* because, they claim, the author (Arthur Miller) has Communist leanings. Last week the Legion threw a picket line around the Playhouse in Washington, D. C. because Judy Holliday, starring in *The Marrying Kind,* and the movie's writer, Garson Kanin, sponsored the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, "widely branded as a Communist front."

In protesting the Holliday-Kanin show, the Legion said, "This is not witch-hunting or vigilanteeism as our critics may charge. This is a presentation of facts. We know that the American people will not knowingly support or patronize Communist fronters and sympathizers if the facts are put before them, so we are endeavoring to present the facts by maintaining this demonstration."

The active Legion picket brigade in the Nation's Capital is directed by Rex Finley from his office in the Department of Commerce, where he is a mathematician.

**As a suggested solution** for the Communist problem, the industry has before it a novel proposal to write off part of the Constitution of the United States in contracts between studios and individuals. The proposal comes from Roy M. Brewer, Hollywood representative of the International Alliance of Theatre and Stage Employees and chairman of the Motion Picture Alliance, a conservative group with the avowed purpose of eliminating Communists from all jobs in the industry. Brewer said in a recent speech that "there are still members of the Communist Party among us, but as each and every member of this party steps to the stand and takes refuge behind the Fifth Amendment, he will cease to be a part of the motion-picture industry." Reporting Brewer's proposal, *Variety* explained:

> This automatic, in effect self-imposed, ouster reportedly will be supplemented in future contracts by a clause requiring the pactee to testify before official governmental investigating committees. If a contract holder should refuse, or take refuge behind the Fifth Amendment, the clause would provide for cancellation of the ticket.

**One of the most** singular aspects of the new "loyalty" investigation in Hollywood is the indifference of the Los Angeles metropolitan press. All the daily papers, which frequently are preoccupied with "Hollywood news" of the most trivial kind, held the story to a few brief paragraphs and buried it on the inside pages. The stories plainly indicated that not a single paper had asked a studio head for comment, and not a paragraph of editorial comment has appeared at this writing in a metropolitan Los Angeles newspaper. In contrast, the New York *Times* front-paged a column-and-a-half story by its Hollywood correspondent, Thomas M. Pryor, who has been devoting his full time to coverage of this investigation.

Although no studio executive volunteered a formal statement, Mr. Freeman told the *Times* representative, when sought out and questioned, that the purpose of the investigation is to give those subjected to vague rumors concerning their loyalty "an opportunity to go on record and refute the charges by clarifying their position." But informed persons in Hollywood scoffed at Freeman's version of the reason for the investigation. Film-industry leaders prior to this time made no secret of their concern at the picketing of motion pictures by the Legion in various cities. Freeman said that, "The spirit of the Legion in this matter is one of friendly co-operation . . . ." But it is apparent in Hollywood that quite the reverse is true. The Legion has demanded, and is getting, the obedient co-operation of the film industry.

Mr. Freeman's statement left unanswered a couple pertinent questions:

Will the studios or the American Legion be the final judge as to whether an employee's affirmation of loyalty and explanation of political and other associations are acceptable?

Has an agreement on that point been reached between the industry and the Legion?

Will the next demand on the industry be a request to "clear" with pressure groups all scripts dealing with "controversial" subjects?

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# THIRD FORCE AT THE UNITED NATIONS

by Joseph P. Lash

WHEN THE Tunisian dispute reached its crisis at the United Nations, it brought together spokesmen of Africa, Asia and Latin America. They met together in a common caucus, and in search of a common cause that far transcended Tunisia.

Prime Minister Nehru phrased the larger issue as the right of nations to be accorded equality of treatment at the UN irrespective of their military and economic power; Professor Bokhari of Pakistan said the crisis confronting the UN was the threat of its subordination to NATO—he was alluding to the fact that the Tunisian issue had been kept off the Security Council's agenda by the negative votes and abstentions of the six powers that were also members of NATO. But the man who is reported to have suggested the idea of the joint caucus, Hernan Santa Cruz, Chile's spokesman on the Security Council, has even more far-reaching and positive ideas in mind.

**Santa Cruz believes** that the underdeveloped countries, who make up a majority at the UN and represent over two-thirds of the world's population, can constitute a third force at the UN: not a force that will seek to moderate or blunt the issues separating the free world from the Communist, but one which will insist that a whole range of issues, especially those of primary importance to the underdeveloped countries, be treated on their merits, and not solely in terms of their impact on the Cold War.

On the great international political problems, as Santa Cruz is careful to point out, the Latin American countries march side by side with the US. He adds that on other problems, such as those relating to economic development of underdeveloped countries, some aspects of the Human Rights Covenant, those of non-autonomous territories, the principle of self-determination of peoples, international action for social progress, etc. the US and the majority of Latin American countries have lined up in different camps. The former with the countries of the Atlantic Pact and other industrial nations and the Latin American countries with the others of Asia, Africa and Oceania, which form the great group of underdeveloped countries.

In the Human Rights Commission which is laboriously spelling out a Human Rights Covenant the underdeveloped countries, over the opposition of the Western powers, wrote in an article asserting the right of self-determination, not only in the political sphere but in that of natural resources as well. The latter was a Chilean proposal and Santa Cruz has made it plain that what he had in mind was foreign exploitation of "the tin of Bolivia, the copper of Chile or the fruit of Guatemala." Obviously it was a doctrine not uncongenial to Iran and other countries of the Middle East and Asia.

When the Economic and Social Council convened late in May it was minus Santa Cruz, but he is very much present at its proceedings. One of the most controversial matters it has to deal with is the study of proposals for a World Development Authority—sometimes called the Santa Cruz plan—which would extend grants and loans to the underdeveloped countries for non-self liquidating projects. The Authority idea was vigorously opposed at the Paris Assembly by the US. We said we would not join a fund which was international in name while we were expected to put up almost all the money. An added and perhaps more potent reason was the awareness of the American delegation that Congress was in no mood to underwrite such projects irrespective of their merits. Despite the vigor of American opposition, however, the underdeveloped countries mustered enough votes to keep the project alive.

US representatives were sufficiently impressed with this defiance to come to the conclusion that some form of development fund is bound to come and that thinking must now be directed to the kind of fund that would be realistic and hardheaded. American administrators, familiar with the log-rolling that accompanies the annual rivers and harbors appropriations in our own Congress, are fearful of an international slush fund in which allocations will be decided by global log-rolling rather than need. However, the American attitude is still not determined with respect to a development fund. Important administration leaders, fearful of Congress, are counseling a policy of implacable opposition. If they win out the breakaway from our leadership in the UN will be accelerated.

**How much importance** is attached to the fund idea by the smaller countries is attested to by the fact that Dr. Bebler of Yugoslavia is postponing his return to his native country for a reassignment until after the fund discussion, even though Yugoslavia is no longer a member of ECOSOC.

The UN itself, in its World Economic Report and its World Social Report, emphasizes the need for world development, and the basis for solidarity among the

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underdeveloped nations at the UN. The conclusion of both reports is that "the gap between the rich and the poor countries in the general levels of production and consumption is wider than before World War II." And the Social Report cautions the industrialized nations that "fatalistic resignation to poverty and disease is giving way to the demand for a better life."

The demand for a "better life," of course, takes many forms. The nations of Africa and Asia have tried to use the UN as a positive instrument for promoting the national aspirations of the dependent countries. Some members of the US delegation are convinced that it was the American vote against putting the Moroccan issue on the agenda of the Paris Assembly that caused the Asian-African group to abstain on many political issues at Paris. In this respect the situation has been seriously worsened by the American abstention on Tunisia.

Now UN circles are waiting to see what kind of answer the Latin American countries give to the Asian-African appeal for help on the Tunisian issue.

**For as yet these countries** have not shown real cohesiveness. In the Asian-African bloc there is rivalry and conflict between India and Pakistan. The latter is flirting with the idea of a Moslem League; and Egypt, before it became preoccupied with domestic problems, indicated that it preferred to lead in an exclusively Arab group than to follow in a larger caucus. Moreover, the whole Arab bloc has hitherto subordinated all other issues to its conflict with Israel. Last year at the height of the Assembly's consideration of Asian-Arab proposals for a truce effort in Korea, the Arab bloc theatened to walk out on the proposition they had helped to father when it seemed as if Israel might be too prominently associated with the proposals.

In the Latin American group there are similar divisions—Argentina and the countries under its influence pursue one policy; at the other pole are countries content to follow the leadership of the United States; and in between are countries with a somewhat independent line, like Chile and Mexico. Santa Cruz himself is regarded with mixed feelings by some of his Latin American colleagues, but it has not escaped notice that at the current meetings of the Human Rights Commission, the new delegate from Uruguay has religiously followed his leadership. There are straws in the wind. In the Security Council's vote on Tunisia, Brazil and Chile voted to place the dispute on the agenda, one of the few cases in UN history where Brazil did not vote along with the US. The new Cuban representative sent by Batista announced, on presenting his credential to Trygve Lie, that he would be especially concerned with the economic problems that were common to the underdeveloped countries.

Santa Cruz believes that social, economic and political forces are bringing about a hemisphere realignment as a result of which Latin America will work more closely with other underdeveloped areas than with the US. Pan Americanism, Santa Cruz says, complemented US isolationism as a defense against European encroachments in this hemisphere. But with the US's emergence as the world's leading power with interests on every continent, Pan Americanism is no longer "the fundamental pivot of the foreign policy of the US."

Since the war, says Santa Cruz, Europe, and even Asia and Africa, "have been given substantial priority over any action in favor of Latin America." As a result of the reorientation of US foreign policy, Latin America no longer feels that the original aim of Pan Americanism is possible. At the same time Latin America is increasingly conscious of the disparity between itself and the US. The latter, Santa Cruz points out, has a per-capita income in excess of $1,500 while "Latin America continues in its backward, semi-colonial economy, despite some great efforts at industrial development, and the 20 countries are among those that have less than $200 per annum per capita."

Santa Cruz cites approvingly a redefinition of Pan Americanism given by a fellow Chilean, Senator Tomic: "Pan Americanism is a free association of two great peoples—the US and the Latin American peoples—with different national interests, who seek different, although complementary, ends in this association."

Santa Cruz concludes that one of the "complementary" aims that Latin America can pursue is to bring about an understanding of the West with Africa and Asia "for the achievement of the ends and aims of the Charter of the UN."

**If Santa Cruz** is representative of Latin American thinking—and many insist that he is not—there is little doubt that UN politics are on the eve of a momentous realignment. One who believes this is the former Assistant Secretary General in charge of Social Affairs at the UN who warned the West last summer that a "world already menaced by imperialist wars" may be threatened with "a social revolution pitting the disinherited countries against the privileged countries."

This may be an unwarranted conclusion. But it will be one of the ironies of UN history if the Acheson Uniting for Peace resolution which transfers power to the UN majority should now be turned by the underdeveloped countries against the United States, Britain and France.

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# LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

## GRAHAM'S JOURNEY

**by Eric Bentley**

**II**

[Mr. Bentley begins herewith an evaluation of Martha Graham's place in our theatre, which he will conclude in Part III (June 23). In Part I (June 9) he discussed Miss Graham's new dances performed this spring.—The Editors.]

WHAT ARE WE TO make of her? What is Martha Graham's place in our theatre? It would be idle to pretend that the hopes of ten and twenty years ago have been realized, that modern dance has been accepted and established like ballet, much less that it has made any impact upon the dramatic theatre. It is the poor relation among the theatre arts; actors are paid at least when they work, but modern dancers have to make their living in some other profession. To the public, modern dance has as yet a hazy existence, is probably confused with gym lessons in girls' colleges, and is certainly associated with a Bennington hair-do and square shoulders; it is to theatre what spiritualism is to religion: a suburban, low-heeled, pretentious but not really dangerous rival. Judging by a recent experiment in New York, I should judge that its procedures cannot be taken over by actors and substituted for dialogue; Decroux's claim that dance is distinct from pantomime was made good. Nor have attempts to use modern dance within the framework of drama been much more successful. No wonder it has been whispered that Miss Graham's art will go down to the grave with her.

I don't know what one can say about this opinion except that it will become true if enough people repeat and believe it. Even so, when a given form of an art dies, there is no knowing what elements from it may nourish other forms and survive in them; the wind bloweth where it listeth. There is certainly a case for trying to define the theatre of Martha Graham while it is still there to define. Even if her influence were over it would remain important that she herself exists.

Havelock Ellis spoke of dances pantomimic and ecstatic, and we may speak of theatre generally under the same two heads. The pantomimic theatre depicts life, holds the mirror up to nature. The ecstatic theatre affirms life and celebrates nature by awakening in us the vital, natural forces. The one shows life as it has become —what we call psychology and sociology. The other is concerned with life still unlived, unindividuated, primordial, life unfiltered, still in the well-spring. This other theatre has been forgotten. Or, if not forgotten, remembered only by theorists like Nietzsche or by creative artists like Wagner and O'Neill who for different reasons never succeeded in reviving it. None of these men was primitive enough, had direct enough access to the depths. Martha Graham has the edge over them in that dance is of itself more primitive than literature or opera. Dance energy can be sublimited into Mozart operas or even into Shavian discussion plays, but that is only to say you can't banish dance from the theatre altogether. It would be natural to suppose it would come back in its own person after a period in operatic or literary dress.

Nearly half a century age Jane Harrison said that as our life becames more and more artificial and we live more and more at second hand, we feel a growing need for that direct contact with life which is felt in dance. She had explained in advance the origin of modern dancing—which, translated into the terms of dramatic criticism, is a revival of ecstatic theatre. If we need something to offset our realistic theatre, undoubtedly the dominant theatre of our age, if we need reminding of another possibility, if it is desirable to keep another, *the* other, sort of theatre alive, then we should thank Martha Graham. She is the fullest realization we know of that magical theatre of which Craig and Yeats and so many others have dreamed.

The ecstatic theatre takes the form of modern dance, the pantomimic theatre takes the form of realistic drama. But how relative our conception of realism is ! Less realistic than our drama, modern dance is more realistic than ballet. Within the field of dance criticism it is the hard realists who defend Graham, the aesthetes who defend Balanchine. Edwin Denby writes:

> Judged by what I look for in ballet, Miss Graham's gesture lacks a way of opening up completely, and her use of dance rhythm seems to me fragmentary. It does not rise in a long sustained line and come to a conclusion. I find she uses the stage space the way the realistic theatre does, as an accidental segment of a place; not the way the poetic theatre uses the stage —as a space complete in itself.

**A realist would** reply that theatre is indeed a "segment" of the world, though not an accidental one, and that it is both intelligent and "poetic" to suggest that the lines of a stage design continue outside the theatre. Here and now I am more concerned with another remark of Mr. Denby's. He says that Miss Graham

> began with the decorative attitudes and the connecting walks of Denishawn 'exotica'; her formal point of departure was an actor's loose gesture sequence, not a dancer's logically sustained dance sequence.

The *parti pris* here is given away by the ascription of the epithet "loose" to an actor's gesture and the epithet "logical" to a dancer's steps. More serious is the preceding clause. "Decorative attitudes" and "connecting walks" and "exotica" suggest triviality. It is for those who have let Graham's art work on them to report how much more than "exotic" is the unfamiliar element in it. Exotic is the word we give to originality which we fail to recognize. How much more her walks do than "connect" is apparent to every sensitive

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witness of the first minute of her *Joan*. Ballet-dancers would do well to learn from Miss Graham the virtues of omission: when a plain walk is right and expresses everything that is to be expressed, more than a walk would be wrong.

As for "decorative attitudes," what Graham has done for them is enough in itself to stamp her a genius. She can stand or sit doing nothing and keep our attention, not by "personality" in the ruined, everyday sense, not by her private ego, let alone her sex appeal or charm (also in the ruined sense), not wholly by her beauty either, but by a personality which she achieves on stage by sheer concentration of purpose. Admittedly this is in part a matter of beauty. But Graham's beauty is of a formidable sort, enigmatic, ambiguous. Sometimes, especially in photographs, she looks like the standard glamorous woman of these United States. Yet above the standard American mouth, set in the unnaturally motionless mask of her upper face, are the perturbed eyes of the American intelligentsia, luminous centers of un-American activities. There are times when one likes Martha Graham's face, but there are times when one dislikes it; which from a theatrical viewpoint is not a bad thing. Since there is no drama without contrast, beauty has to be ambivalent to be dramatic.

## A FIELD OF VISION

**by Katherine Hoskins**

SOMETIMES, when we look at it a-slant or suddenly, this seems a very wonderful century. And seldom more wonderful than when the terrain of our poetry forms before us. Perhaps variety is its most striking quality. Even in the limited area of a single reader, there pass by poems free or finicky, devised in gay anapest or grave iamb, in Latin stress or bardic beat; poems rhymed, un-rhymed, off-rhymed, inner-rhymed; with and without punctuation; in modes conversational, heroical, satirical, philosophical, conversational-philosophical, pathetical-conversational, satirical, etc. They come on different colored pages and, if hundred proof is too strong, diluted with prose. Ask for the seven kinds of ambiguity, the twenty-eight phases of the moon or the fourteen stations of the cross—the poets will provide them.

**If we tire of** William Carlos Williams' proletarian Mt. Latmos, we can walk the clipped alleys of Marianne Moore's "Jardin des Plantes." We can play Tinker Toy with E. E. Cumming or brave the Roman vistas with Allen Tate. Here is a ballad by Robert Penn Warren. Ezra Pound will entertain or R. P. Blackmur puzzle us. Mark Van Doren will lead us by quiet ways that we have almost seen before. While over there, immensely tilled and fertile, is Wallace Stevens' kingly province—and the sound of Z in the grass all day.

There are, of course, certain values that we don't find—the completeness of the "Ode to Autumn", the solidity and momentum of "Lycidas". We miss a sensation of substance to be found in nearly everything written before the Cubists and physicists and Joyce broke up reality; before the stone Samuel Johnson kicked was metamorphosed into Cézanne's rocks. But explorers and lovers look for what is there; and few bewail the lack of Marlowe's gong-like tone in Shakespeare.

Typically, the art of the twentieth century is an art of the total effect, of bits and pieces, depths and surfaces welded by perception. It doesn't go one word after another to an end. All the words are co-existent and there is no end, but a presentation of a whole, or it may be one aspect of a whole. Art now is best approached by a flexible and over-all attack, by the method of desire and in the expectation of enjoyment. To read Joyce is to read without touching the pulse of logical comprehension every ten seconds, but to read until the page vanishes and it is as if one's self were thinking the words. A poem of Stevens may at first seem scattered beyond the hope of rational cohesion; but if we allow the charm of sound and sight of its separate parts, a gradually clearing relationship takes form and extends and extends until all parts dovetail or align.

Though their treatment of it may be oblique or abstract, our poets give the impression of having re-discovered the outside world. They have left the cozy fires and congenial friends, the lonely bars and garrets of the nineteenth century and are out on the streets with the hard-pressed capable crew that were their earliest forbear's. I imagine that few of them would put 'poet' on a passport, though many would put 'writer' or 'teacher'. The wisest, unwilling to misuse their instruments, have chosen alien trades like law or medicine as three hundred years ago they might have chosen the court or church. Unfortunately, it often seems that this appearance on the streets of the world may well be our poets last appearance anywhere. For though our offices are probably no less corrupt than formerly, now even the wicked have to work too hard and there are no more sinecures.

At the moment, however, poetry is a delight for which they steal time and skip duties, a necessity like a vice rather than like a source of income. And, as is natural with such catch as catch can methods, we are conscious not so much of a given poet and his personality and *oeuvre* as of a crowd of poems jostling each other, flip and passionate. The speech is charged and varies dramatically between the colloquial and the formal. Where Donne could start a serious poem with: "For God's sake hold your tongue and let me love," Stevens can start one equally serious with: "So what said the others, and the sun went down." Similarly, our poets treat objects with respect to their own being rather than as milch cows to feed poetical emotions.

**Though it is** only recently that anyone has considered a vase an interesting subject, "I placed a jar in Tennessee" has far more in common with the immediacy of the 16th century than with the 19th century deliberation of "Thou still unravish'd bride of quietness." Not so much an apparent insouciance of form as a direct relation with its subject places Ransom's kingdom of the birds in the same quadrant with Marvell's garden rather than with Swinburne's.

Our poets use the materials of the world. But for them natural loveliness or noble artifact are no more productive of response than the sordid, dull or horrible conditions of their existence.

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In choice of subject, as has often been pointed out, they are well beyond the pleasure principle. With this goes an effect of privacy that has also been extensively remarked on. And it is true that, more than ever before, each poet demands understanding of *his* use of language, *his* music, *his* particular attitude towards the universe with the result that the reader must be myriad-minded who would give his due to each. The tendency of the English language towards naturalism and idiom partially explain these peculiarities. They have also been variously interpreted in the light of economic and psychic change. But I think that there is a single and profound reason both for the unparalleled width of reference and for the idiosyncratic nature of twentieth century poety. It has to do with our concept of Time, or death; and the concept of these, altered by each generation, can almost be taken as the signature of a given period. In the last thirty years, it has changed sensationally.

**Three hundred years** ago, Time flew and the poet stayed to weep the rose's fading. By the nineteenth century, Time still flew and it was his own senescence that the poet mourned—as Keats with his urn or as Yeats, "O who could have foretold that the heart grows old?" Even when they were looking forward to heaven the earlier poets stayed very much alive and on the spot. Our poet, on the other hand, has been told and finally now believes that Time stays, it is us who go. Meditating on this latest and most grave mortality, he has got less choosy in the objects of his admiration for he sees all things not only as items in his life, but as very life itself and therefore valuable, their apprehension anguished far beyond beauty or ugliness, love or hatred, suffering or happiness. His aim and his achievement is not to gather rosebuds but to seize the moment.

The drama has shifted. The poet is no longer master of ceremonies between the audience and the audience's world. Yet he is of no less and very possibly of more value to the audience because his struggle is to record his own and only world for who may choose to hear—but to record it anyway. So intent, he finds that each flower, dream or happening is different from all others, past and future, and different from anybody else's, though the name may be the same. Matters unprecedented demand unprecedented handling; syntax, versification, all must bend to their delineation.

Today, the poet's rose is marmoreal and perenduring as he glimpses it in flight; his rose or his paper-strewn back lot. Both are unique, both wonders reflected back from Time's eternal mirror.

## THE MAKING OF LAW

CONGRESS AT WORK, by Stephen K. Bailey and Howard D. Samuel (Henry Holt; $5).

CONGRESS SEEMS to be afflicted with a perversity that baffles the reformers. Dethrone Czar Cannon and you enthrone seniority with Congress headed toward disintegration. Reduce the number of committees and you inevitably multiply subcommittees and thereby complicate procedure. Thoroughly staff the committees and the experts raise the level of discussion almost above constituent or even the congressional level. Throttle the Rules Committee and local pressures sand bag the now helpless individual Congressman. Throttle the lobbyist and the Congressman would be lost in a social vacuum out of touch with constituents who individually are merely civic ciphers. The difficulty is that Congress like all institutions is the result of deep-seated social forces—American habits and usages—that stubbornly refuse to be manipulated. Still stands the dictum of the late Justice Holmes, "For most of the things that can be called evils the main remedy is for us to grow more civilized."

The beginning of wisdom with respect to Congress is to understand it. Some of the earlier books on the subject did not lift the level of interpretation very much above the level of finding new babies under gooseberry bushes. Some were purely descriptive of formal procedures and of insignficant superficialities. Others in their rationalizations floated off into the glorious cloudland of the *a priori*. Rather belatedly the supreme significance of the committees began to receive proper attention and there remained the pioneering in exploring pressure groups and lobbies as they gave direction to legislation. Now we need to know why Congressmen individually and collectively behave as they do. What accounts for their frustrations—their phobias of chief executives whether Republicans or Democrats, their rage against indispensable bureaucrats, their furious hysteria over an address by a five-star general culminating in the ecstatic declaration of one of them that God had spoken. Every promising new approach to the mystery that is Congress should be welcomed.

*Congress at Work* undertakes a fresh approach to an understanding of Congress by means of a score or two of carefully selected and detailed cases. Thus the reader may learn almost firsthand about Congress by somewhat casual and random contact with it, much as one comes to know and understand his relatives, neighbors and associates—that is in a rather natural way. The method is pedagogically sound but is not to be confused with sitting in the gallery of the House and looking down on the incomprehensible behavior below. It is questionable whether public-school groups should ever be permitted in the gallery of the House because what they see only confounds the confusion that is theirs already. *Congress at Work* could give the public-school and even college teacher a peep at the facts of life in the Congress and thereby possibly improve the teaching of the subject.

**Encountering again** and again these varied parliamentary situations one begins after a while to get the feel of Congress, to acquire a sense of direction and an idea of where to look for things. Here one comes face to face with a Congressman reading his mail which he never could begin to handle without his keen and hard working personal staff. One sees him calculating anxiously the balance of competing constituent interests on a burning issue upon which his re-election may hinge. One sees committee chairmen and floor leaders per-

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severing though baffled by the infinitely varied whimsicalities of fellow Congressmen. The Truman Committee of the war years still stands as almost a model, but how Veblen would have smiled to see the awe with which it received William S. Knudsen, Director General of the OPA in contrast with the hammer-and-tongs questioning inflicted on the Associate Director Sidney Hillman by conservative members of that committee. Nor should one be surprised to see the Senate Banking Committee compelled to ask its staff to round up some pro-rent-control witnesses in order to counterbalance the crowd of anti-rent-control witnesses who came voluntarily and testified belligerently. The consumer interest approaches zero as a pressure.

How disillusioning to learn that relations are usually cordial between contending lobbyists and that Congressmen quickly develop shrewdness in appraising propaganda. It is almost breath-taking to find Democratic floor leader Scott Lucas dropping in on Republican Senator Ives and casually relating just how the DP Bill is locked hopelessly in the Judiciary Committee only to be taken unexpectedly by the arm and led over to repeat it to the Republican Policy Committee which then moves promptly to help break the log jam.

**The story of** every case is told dispassionately with no passing of stern judgments, no sitting in the scorner's seat. Congressmen are revealed as men and women like the rest of us functioning in the web of American folkways and conditioned like all of us by experiences that account for their behavior. Doubtless like most men, as the late Knute Rockne put it, they too "think they are thinking when they are only re-arranging their prejudices."

Two years ago Professor Bailey's *Congress Makes A Law* traced in detail the evolution of the Employment Act of 1946 in its course through both houses; and at the end of the year the American Political Science Association awarded it first place in its field for 1950. In the work here reviewed he may, in collaboration with his colleague, have rung another bell. WILFRED E. BINKLEY

## A COMPLEAT FISHERMAN

HARPOON VENTURE, by Gavin Maxwell (Viking Press; $4.75).

IT IS TO BE feared that Edward Lear's Jumblies (whose race the British Isles have in the past unfailingly replenished) are threatened with extinction with the machine age. Yet poet-explorers, merchant-adventurers, naturalists, eternal children who live out the island daydreams of the race, even now occasionally go to sea in sieves on some inexplicable adventure, and return, the dream transposed into an Odyssey. For such men, the natural world responds to the imagination as readily as does the stuff of dreams.

Major Gavin Maxwell, the younger son of an ancient Scottish family, might have been a naturalist on Darwin's Beagle, an explorer on Scott's Discovery, or the hero of some unwritten sea story by Conrad. At the end of the war, he bought one of the many hundreds of the small islands of the Hebrides—Soay, lying in the lee of the Cuillins of Skye. There for four years he hunted the basking shark, the second largest fish in the world, that within living memory has been appearing in increasing numbers in these magically beautiful Northern waters. His motives combined the interest of a naturalist and sportsman with a serious attempt to bring to an island whose population was yearly diminishing, an industry in keeping with the traditional life of crofter-fishermen, that has changed little since the Isles were ruled by the ancient Kings of Norway. He built a small factory, and purchased an old herring-trawler (a sieve, which had soon to be replaced by an Admiralty launch, the Sea Leopard) from which he started a series of experiments upon methods of catching and processing the sharks.

Every step of this adventure, from the designing of harpoons strong enough to hold these seven-ton leviathans, thirty feet in length, to the processing and marketing of their products—especially the valuable oil for the liver, was experimental. Four years of careful trial and much error led at last to the solution of most of the problems; but by this time all the capital available for the experiment had been exhausted. In the last season, 1947, some two hundred sharks were caught; and it seems likely that Major Maxwell could, on his present experience, establish a profitable shark fishery in Scottish waters. More likely some more commercially minded successor will do so; for to Gavin Maxwell (a Jumblie and an aristocrat) two things mattered more than money: the important scientific discoveries made possible by his work outlined in an appendix by the Scientific Director of the Zoological Society, Dr. Harrison Matthews, and the poetry of those Northern Isles.

He failed, as Lord Leverhulme had more spectacularly failed, some years earlier, to persuade the inhabitants of one of the most primitive, poetic, and beautiful archipelagos in the world, to come to terms with the twentieth century. The sequel is tragic: in the same week as this book is published, it is announced in the Press that the Isle of Soay, at the request of its inhabitants, is, like St. Kilda, to be evacuated.

"The Weather," as one of Major Maxwell's crew remarked, "always beats you

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—MICHAEL STRAIGHT, *New Republic*

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in the end." There were storms that kept the boats waiting in harbor for days and threatened them with shipwreck at sea; whipped the roofs of new factory buildings, and blew a wooden shed from one side of the harbour to the other. But, more than the storms, those enchanted long summer days, that turn the isles into shimmering mirages, are the arch-enemies of commercial enterprise, turning all to poetry and enchantment. Whale and porpoise, the throngs of sea-birds whose nesting-places are those most ancient rocks in the British Isles, repaid Major Maxwell in another currency. He writes as one who sees with the poetic eye of a naturalist and as a man who belongs as organically to the sea and islands he describes, as do the birds and fish that teem in its waters.

KATHLEEN RAINE

## MANNA FOR THE MASSES

NEW WORLD WRITING (New American Library; 50¢).

THE MENTOR BOOKS of the New American Library have long been famous for supplying *en masse* to the general public at 35¢ books of such caliber as Sullivan's *Beethoven*, Langer's *Philosophy in a New Key*, or Whitehead's *Science and the Modern World*. It is important news to the public and writers alike when to such a series a new title—*New World Writing*: an anthology of current literature of 315 pages with a first printing of 110,000, selling for 50¢ a copy—is added by the publishers and promised twice a year.

The manifesto of this project is ringing and heartening, and it rejects "the cynical portrait of the American reader as a juvenile oaf" and points to the phenominal sales in reprint of books of quality. Miss Arabel Porter, as executive director of New American Library and editorial coordinator of this collection, comments in her friendly essay "Literary Hospitality" that "there are more readers who welcome good writing than anyone would have believed possible a few years ago," and the publishers themselves stress the "little magazine" aspect of the work which may "attract and interest the significant writers of the future" for a "wide and receptive audience."

**Now that** John Lehmann's *New Writing* has ceased publication, *New World Writing* and *Discovery* (announced by another house to be forthcoming) are doubly welcome. The American reprint publisher is coming of age, and it is to be hoped that our radio and television producers will follow suit and offer us something to compare with the Third Program of the BBC. Of course there is a large segment of our population that reads nothing but scandal and comics, but it is time to recognize the existence of a sensitive and intelligent audience of such proportion as to make the mass printing of good literature an idealistic and profitable venture: these two adjectives have accompanied the rennaissance of every culture, and may define a particular aspect of the American genius.

It is to be hoped that no one will interpret the word *new* of this bi-annual to mean *avant garde,* and so appraise the material from a wrong point of view, a fate often suffered by the *New Directions* annuals, no matter what their various quality has been. Nor should the reader or the critic be so naive as to imagine that only he could have chosen material of any worth. It is enough that the editors have done their work in good faith with high purpose; it is part of the American dream that the good will also eventually pay off. We have in this collection, then, fourteen short stories (six of which are chapters from new novels), six essays, twelve poems, and one play by Tennessee Williams about Freda and D. H. Lawrence.

It is a relief to find in none of these stories the shocking, or the sexy, or the macabre used for its own sake; to discover with some refreshment, indeed, many of them deal with childhood or adolescence in stories by Louis Auchincloss, Wright Morris, James Turner Jackson, Themistocles Hoetis and, by default, Gore Vidal, who shows a growing talent for satire and farce in "Erlinda and Mr. Coffin," where the dear child turns out to be anything *but*. There is an intense tale of hatred and love by the French prodigy Jean-Baptiste Rossi, a heady chapter from a novel by Michael Seide which by combining rhetoric and slang, poetic high-seriousness with downright horseplay, manages to create an atmosphere both realistic and stylized. Christopher Isherwood is here with a chapter from his new novel *The World in the Evening* written in his usual style as unobstrusive and revealing as a clean plate-glass window.

There are fine poems by John Malcolm Brinnin on a walk in Wales with Dylan Thomas, by Charles Bell on the "Fall of Troy," by J. C. Hall on "The Burning Hare" (though overtones of Yeats are in that burning fire), by Howard Nemerov, and Marvin Solomon, and other poems by Thomas Merton, James Laughlin, James Schuyler, Howard Moss, Frank O'Hara, Lloyd Frankenburg, and by Gray Burr, who this year won one of the three awards given by the Poetry Center of the YMHA in New York City. But perhaps the greatest surprise of all lies in the high quality of the essays, a form more difficult to make available in quality for such mass consumption.

**Alain Locke** writes on "The Negro in American Literature," Rolfe Humphries on "Translation in Revival," Oliver Evans on "The Theme of Spiritual Isolation in Carson McCullers," Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip C. Johnson on modern architecture in prose as lucid as the illustrations which accompany it, and Charles J. Rolo on "Simenon and Spillane," in which he defines the detective story as the "modern man's Passion Play" in which the reader vicariously plays the role of "different kinds of Saviour."

But best of all is an account of the contemporary literary scene in Italy by P. M. Pasinetti, "The Incredible Italians," where the author manages by perceptive analysis of one contemporary scene to reveal the problems and define the trends of similar literatures all over the world. Let the reviewer, then, sally out from that special hobby-horse of his and descend "where that immortall garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat."

KIMON FRIAR

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## AN AID TO STUDY

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S DICTIONARY OF MIND, MATTER AND MORALS, edited by Lester E. Denonn (Philosophical Library, $5.00).

THIS IS A philosophical miscellany, in which excerpts from Lord Russell's writings are arranged under word-headings in alphabetical order. The result, though necessarily loose and discontinuous for the reader as these "dictionaries" usually are, is to emphasize the values and limitations of Russell's philosophy, and to show that his most effective knowledge is that of logic and his most diluted knowledge is that of social problems. Within these two broad categories of thought are lumped most of the Russell selected for this volume.

In Lord Russell's body of philosophy one finds a competitive spirit directed against classical and medieval logic; Aristotle and his followers in Russell's discourse on logic and science receive rough treatment. His theories of social possibilities and effects are apparently his interest is in seeking only that truth to be founded upon verification for which can be verified by controlled experiment. And he requires of social thought and freedom that they adapt to changes of knowledge and to changes of human needs. Since he requires that truth shall be verified, and this is his criterion of value, all dogmatism, all faith, any resistance to change, any inrootedness, or any absolutes of external or of internal forms—these all are subjected to adverse Russellian criticism.

Moreover Russell requires that the philosophy of liberalism be consistently under scrutiny and with perception and patience submitted to verification. In fact, one may say that the philosophy of liberalism (with its cardinal virtue of tolerance) has been recreated in our age by Lord Russell.

Believing that thought can effectively and creatively change society he can not accept utilitarian or materialistic philosophy as adequate explanations for human nature. He has, consistent with his dislike of dogmatism, rejected Communism from its beginning. Scepticism, patience, independence of mind, and submission to truth only as it is discovered are his virtues, and he allows always for the creative stimulus of unpredictable events. There is in his writings no note of despair. The wickedness of folly and the folly of wickedness are both in his view the results of one's refusal to recognize truth and one's refusal to act with love, knowledge, and foresight. We should now turn to Russell's books. WADE DONAHOE

## IN DUBIOUS RETROSPECT

*Back Door to War,* by Charles Callan Tansil (Regnery; $6.50).

This book is part of the devious attack on American diplomacy directed by Dr. Edmund Walsh, SJ., from Georgetown University. The State Department, in an expansive moment, opened up its files to Tansil. He argues that the US, not Germany of Japan, was the aggressor in the Second World War.

Thus in 1941 says this "historian," Roosevelt's "orchestra of death was anxiously awaiting for the signal to begin the new symphony. . . . Hitler had refused to assist. . . . Perhaps some Japanese statesman would prove more accommodwating." When Japan proved peace-loving, Roosevelt, according to Professor Tansil, tricked Japan into attacking the US. The foul-up in Naval leadership that left us unprepared for Pearl Harbor was a diabolical plot whose climax Tansil maintains was a premeditated visit to *The Student Prince* by Admiral Stark the night before the bombs fell. Final proof of this plot is the startling fact that General Marshall went riding early the next morning before the news came. "Was there an important purpose behind this ride?" asks Professor Tansil darkly. "This question looms constantly larger," he adds, ignoring the unwelcome fact that Marshall went riding every morning.

These are the superstitions that occupied Beard in his senility and focused John T. Flynn's mania for hatred. If would be easily dismissed, were it not such useful material for demagogues in the 1952 campaign. MICHAEL STRAIGHT

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